



**GOLDWATER**—"It is really astounding that our Government has never stated its purpose to be that of complete victory over the tyrannic forces of communism."



**FULBRIGHT**—"It is these [Right-Wing] extremists who are advocating a 'soft' approach. [They] cannot bear to face the burden of a continuing struggle."

## Fulbright Becomes a National Issue

**The Arkansas Senator, long identified with internationalism, is a major object of attack in the battle now shaping up over our world policy.**

By E. W. KENWORTHY

STATINTL

WASHINGTON.

**F**IFTEEN years ago, when he was a downy veteran of two years in the House and one in the Senate, J. W. Fulbright, the present chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, delivered an address at the University of Chicago on "The Legislator," in the course of which he pronounced the following indisputable truth: "The first thing, obviously, that every legislator has to do is to get himself elected to office."

Then, with an air of dazed disbelief at the transformation this had involved for a one-time law school professor and university president, the Senator from Arkansas said: "The process of being elected to the Congress, in a predominantly rural community in the South, is an experience that is not easy to describe in a few words."

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The foregoing is set down merely for the point and poignancy it lends to a memo which Senator Fulbright, up for re-election next year to a fourth term in the Senate, recently received from Lee Williams, his administrative assistant. It read in part:

"As a result of your Senate speeches, press conferences, television appearances and other public utterances in the past two weeks, you have succeeded in arousing the ire of practically every organized segment of world public opinion. This is reflected in the mail you have received during this period. The following is a list of the groups from which you have had messages indicating their displeasure with your expressed opinions:

"John Birchers, McCarthyites, Goldwaterites, Thurmondites, Dixiecrats, militarists, isolationists, Zionists, Germans, Catholics, Chinese Nationalists, Koreans, N. A. A. C. P.-ers, A. D. A.-ers, Communists, private powerists, veterans, farmers' cooperativites."

In the Senator's native state, obviously, the only electoral threat in this spectrum of antagonisms lies in the "pro-blue" bands—what he has called the "radical Right." So far, this threat is only potential. But Senator Barry Goldwater, the Arizona Republican whose watch, according to press-gallery legend, "goes tock-tick," and Senator Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Dixiecrat, have been doing their best to make it potent.

**F**OR the past four months they have kept up a drumfire attack on Fulbright, accusing him of advocating "inaction on all major cold-war fronts," trying to make "the policy of 'nonintervention' under any circumstances a national policy," timidly shying away from the only policy for real Americans—"total victory," foolishly trying to fight communism with "relief packages," even more foolishly paying attention to "an ephemeral something called world opinion," and making "a clandestine

assault on the fundamental foundations of our republic" by seeking to "muzzle" military officers critical of the Administration's foreign and domestic policies.

The American public has probably been largely unaware of the Fulbright-Goldwater encounters—with the possible exception of the skirmish over Fulbright's now-famous memorandum to Secretary of Defense McNamara calling his attention to the military sponsorship of "cold-war seminars" dominated by "radical Right-Wing" speakers.

But, much as the contestants heartily dislike one another, this has not been simply a private quarrel in the world's most exclusive club. Senator Goldwater is a candidate for his party's Presidential nomination in 1964. It is apparent to political observers here that he is trying to base his claim on the support of a coalition of conservative Repub- (Continued on Page 89)

## Fulbright Becomes a National Issue

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licans and Southern Democrats.

Senator Fulbright represents anything Goldwater detests—the Kennedy Administration—and a good deal more. The Senatorial primary in Arkansas next May offers the Goldwater forces the opportunity for a trial run of their strength. The Goldwater cause would obviously be considerably advantaged if Fulbright could be knocked off.

**A** FULBRIGHT defeat would also be a severe blow to the Administration. The President would lose an able and informed advocate—and sometimes valuable private critic—of his foreign policy. And the whole philosophical basis of this policy would be opened up for increasing attack by the Right-Wing coalition.

There are many observers here who think the noise of Goldwater's enthusiasts has given the Senator illusions of strength as well as grandeur, and that he is in for an awakening even sadder than

that experienced by the late Senator Taft. This may well be.

But there seems to be little question of his strategy. What is afoot was made quite clear on Aug. 7, when Dale Alford, Dixiecrat Congressman from Little Rock, attacked Fulbright in the same phrases used by Senator Thurmond and called upon the voters of Arkansas to form "Voters for the Constitution" and retire Fulbright "from public office."

Fulbright is not a contentious man, and he does not seek controversy. But he is, as one reporter here expressed it, "intellectually unterrified," and he does not fear or shun it. There is reason to believe he looks on the Goldwater-Thurmond attacks as providential because the two men so perfectly exemplify a state of mind—or, more properly, a state of emotion—that he regards as not only anachronistic but dangerous.

They have managed to dramatize by their attacks a question which he believes central to a nation that has

had leadership thrust upon it in a world fundamentally contested between Communist totalitarianism and a democratic system of consent based on human rights and freedoms.

The question is not a simple one. It is composed of several parts. Essentially it is this: How do we use our power responsibly? This involves bringing thought to bear on politics—which, as Matthew Arnold long ago remarked, is something difficult and rare. It also involves national posture, or, as Fulbright would prefer, "national style."

"It is one thing to enunciate policies, and another to make them credible," he has written. "It is style, our performance as a nation and a great power, that determines the credibility of our policies."

**W**HAT does this require of us? Maturity, Fulbright answers, and the wisdom and courage to eschew those quick, clean, uncomplicated "solutions" which are so emotionally satisfying to the radical



FRESHMAN—Fulbright as a new Representative in Congress, in 1943.

Right and so fatally irretrievable for the nation.

In the midst of the confused and heated foreign-aid debate this summer, Fulbright suddenly cut through the technicalities of Treasury borrowing authority, left to one side the

prescriptive rights of the appropriations committees, and in a philosophical parenthesis stated what he regarded as the central problem of our times in these words:

"The ultimate question is  
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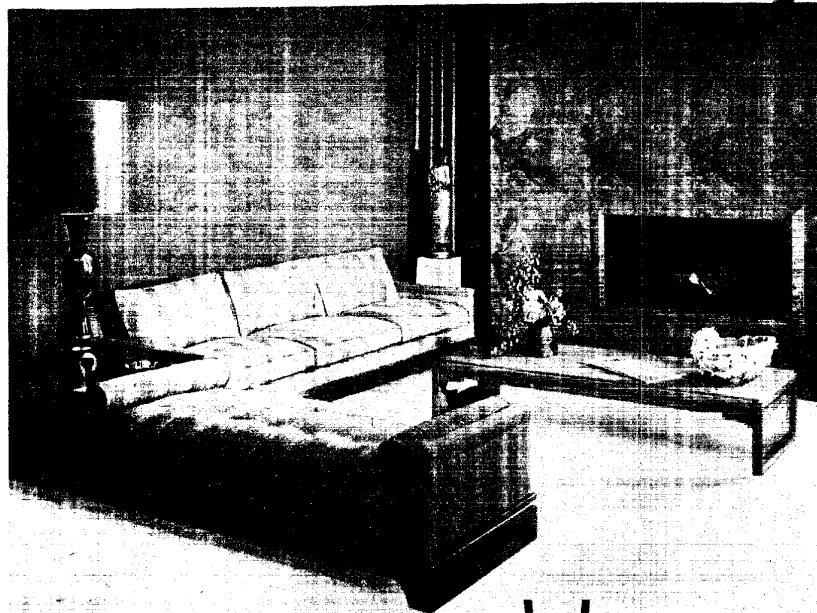
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(Continued from Page 89)

whether this nation is prepared to accept the permanent and inescapable responsibility of having come of age in history. The transition from youth to majority is as painful in the life of a nation as it is poignant in the life of an individual. But history, like human mortality, is an impersonal and inexorable force. It grants no reprieves and, indeed, deals harshly with those who would linger bemused and nostalgic in the afterglow of lost youth.

"The character of a mature nation is not unlike that of the mature individual. Adulthood means the acceptance of permanent responsibilities, of continuing tasks, of enterprises that advance imperceptibly toward fruition with neither climax nor completion. It means ambiguity when we would prefer precision, tedious labor when we would prefer dramatic action, infinite patience when we would prefer immediate rewards. Above all, maturity requires a final accommodation between our aspirations and our limitations."

So many of the American people, he said, still nourish the dazzling illusion—the emotional residue of a rich and secure isolation—that "we can do anything, and do it quickly and once and for all." But our national objective must not be an unattainable millennium. We are engaged in trying to create "a system of permanent processes for the gradual improvement of the human condition on earth," in trying to make—in Wilson's words—"a society instead of a set of barbarians out of the governments of the world."

**T**HIS takes time, determination, sobriety, serenity, moral courage and the realization that there are limitations to foreign policy and that "some problems cannot be solved but can only be mitigated."

One of the limitations on American foreign policy, he believes, is the power of the United States. In an article in *Foreign Affairs* this month, he stated that the United States is bearing "a disproportionate share of the burden of world responsibility"—a share that is beyond the power, resources and the will of the nation to sustain.

The United States, he suggested, cannot look for relief

from the United Nations, which is itself a cold war battleground. The time has come, he wrote, to put together a "concert of free nations"—comprising an inner community of the North Atlantic powers and an outer community of other non-Communist countries willing to join—which will share the responsibility of defending their common interests against a resourceful adversary.

**O**NE more thing, Fulbright believes, is necessary to establish the national style. Over the long haul ahead, the United States must remain true to its inner self, its historic ideals. Its leaders must ignore the counsel of those who would have the nation resort to the tactics of the enemy.

"If the concept of national purpose has any meaning at all," he said in a speech at Stanford University in July, "that meaning lies in our instincts, in our history, and in our inherited values."

Politicians are normally so full of busyness that inevitably a reputation for laziness has attached itself to the seemingly casual Fulbright. There is some truth in this, but not much. The tedium of committee work, the endless haggling over trifles, is a torment to him. But where his interest lies—foreign aid, international exchange of students and scholars, education, the knitting together of the Atlantic Community—he will work tirelessly. "He's not lazy, he's reflective," insists an aide who has worked intimately with him for years.

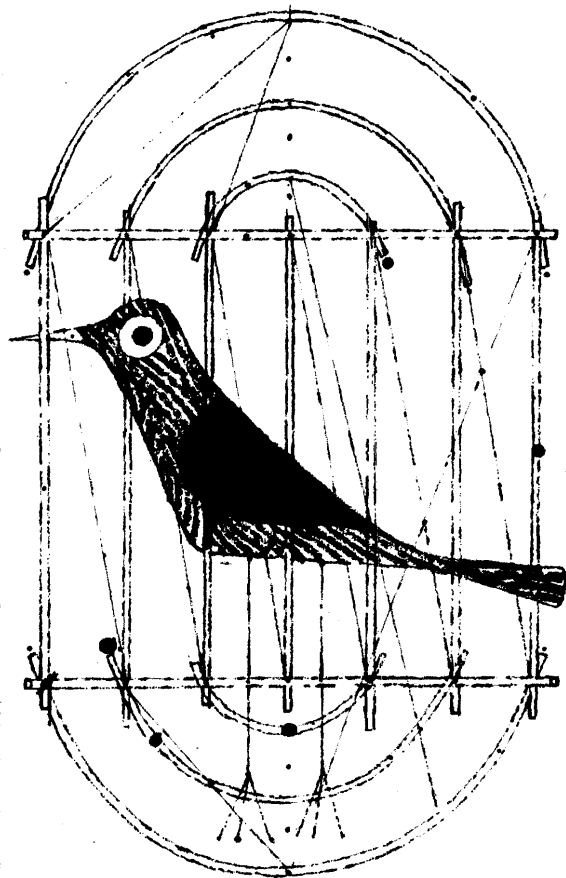
Fulbright has reflected on the themes outlined above ever since he came to Congress in 1943 and was put on the Foreign Affairs Committee as a freshman Congressman. And unquestionably they have informed all the other ideas upon which he has been hammering in recent years: the interrelationship of foreign and domestic policies, the categorical imperative of national growth, the assignment of national priorities; Federal aid and stimulus to education, assistance to under-developed countries, the recognition that the United States has "conceivably" something to learn from other peoples and cultures, as well as something to teach them.

**B**UT his central theme—that the United States must accept the responsibilities attendant upon its having come of age in history—has, since last spring, become obsessive with him, and he has returned to it again and again with an intensity and passion that seems almost alien to his diffident manner and warm Ozark drawl.

The occasion of this deep concern almost certainly was the Cuban misadventure—the

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decisions which led to it and the national trauma which followed it. Two or three weeks before the Bay of Pigs landing on April 17, Fulbright prepared a memo setting forth his reasons against United States involvement. He stressed the almost religious attitude in Latin America toward the doctrine of nonintervention, United States treaty commitments to the doctrine, the inevitable tarnishing of the national image whether the invasion succeeded or failed.

Fulbright gave the memo to the President during a flight to Florida. The President read it attentively. At a White House meeting later the President asked Fulbright to present his views briefly to the assembled top officials from his own staff, the Pentagon, State Department and Central Intelligence Agency. The Senator did so, and was overborne.

SOME who have read the memo regard it as a document of great cogency and eloquence, and are still mystified that it did not prevail with the President. That, of course, is hindsight. But the fact remains that Fulbright had the foresight.

If he was troubled by the thinking which favored the quick, military solution of the Castro problem, he was equally troubled by the reaction of some legislators to the fiasco. Then came the deterioration of the situation in Laos, more frustration and more talk of military solutions. On June 29 Fulbright rose in the Senate and delivered "Some Reflections upon Recent Events and Continuing Problems."

The lesson to be drawn from Laos, he said, was not—as some voices were saying—that the United States should be prepared to commit its strength to the active defense of its policies anywhere outside the Communist empire. The lesson was that "nothing would please the Communist leaders more than to draw the United States into costly commitments of its resources to peripheral struggles."

ON Cuba, he said that there were those who suggested that the objective of the Administration's policy had been right but the means inadequate; that it was time we employed some Communist tactics and beat the Communists at their own game.

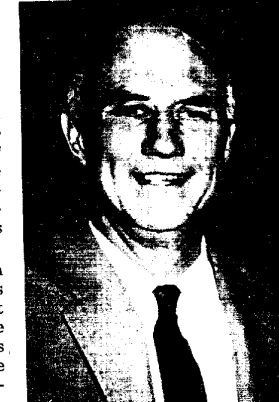
This, Fulbright said, was a mistake and missed "the point and real nature of the struggle." The Communists seek to impose their system on others, by force if necessary. Ours is a permissive system; its values "imply our adherence not only to liberty and individual freedom, but also to international peace, law and order, and constructive social purpose"; we seek only to "help others re-

phrase. "It quickens the blood like a clarion call to arms, and stimulates the imagination with a vision of brave and gallant deeds." But what does it mean? "Is it to be won by a nuclear war \* \* \* [costing] the lives of tens of millions of people? \* \* \* What would we do with it once it was won? Would we undertake a military occupation of Russia and China?"

Our greatest asset, he went on, is this "double standard." The world recognizes it, and "demands from the United States a higher order of conduct than is expected from others." Therefore, "if we intervene unilaterally in Cuba, we prejudice our cause in the hemisphere," possibly increase the "vulnerability of Latin America to communism" and, by alienating most of Latin America, Asia and Africa, "substantially alter the balance of power in the world."

GOLDWATER apparently thought this speech provided an opening to be exploited, and two weeks later he rose to attack. It was true, he said, that voices were saying "exactly what he [Fulbright] claims. They are American voices \* \* \* to which the policymakers of the Administration would do well to listen, rather than dismiss them as noises made by people who do not understand the benefits which can flow from American-financed social and economic reform. \* \* \*

"He calls it a dangerous doctrine \* \* \* to draw the United States into \* \* \* peripheral struggles \* \* \*. I suggest that a far more dangerous doctrine



ANTAGONIST — Senator Strom Thurmond, who has been waging a "drumfire attack" on Fulbright.

is the one advanced by the Senator from Arkansas—one that would make the principle of 'nonintervention' under any circumstances a national policy. \* \* \* It is really astounding that our Government has never stated its purpose to be that of complete victory over the tyrannical forces of international communism.

"[As for] fear that by taking action in Cuba, the United States would alienate most of Latin America, Asia and Africa. This is patently ridiculous. It is another instance of this Government's preoccupation with an ephemeral something called world opinion."

Not for nothing had Fulbright, as a Rhodes Scholar, debated at Oxford. Total victory, he replied, is a "stirring"

As for the charge of advocating nonintervention, Fulbright said that the basic concept behind the nation's military and political alliances and its commitments to help underdeveloped countries was "one of intervention—but not indiscriminate military intervention in response to every provocation and every disorder." He, too, wanted total victory—not in a nuclear war, not for the goal of a world "forcibly recast in our image," but for "a process of civilizing international relations."

THE same contesting attitudes were at issue in the ruckus raised by Goldwater (a Lieutenant General in the Air Force Reserve) and Thurmond (a Major General in the Army Reserve) over Fulbright's memorandum to Secretary McNamara on the "cold-war seminars" under military auspices.

Fulbright had suggested revision of a National Security Council directive of 1958, under which the military was to assume a role in indoctrinating not only troops but the public in the menace and tactics of communism.

"There is little in the education, training or experience of most military officers," Fulbright wrote, "to equip them with the balance of judgment necessary to put their own ultimate solutions \* \* \* into proper perspective in the President's total 'strategy for the nuclear age.'"

EVIDENCE to support this conclusion, he said, was to be found in the seminars, some of which used "extremely radical Right-Wing" speakers and materials. Running through all of these programs was the "theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sellouts,' 'appeasements,' etc."

Furthermore, Fulbright said, the speakers and literature often equated "social legislation with socialism and socialism with communism." Thus, he went on, "much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of Social Security (particularly medical care under Social Security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism."

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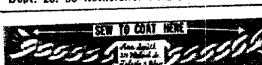
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## FOREIGN RELATIONS



**CENTER OF ATTENTION**—Senator Fulbright talks to newsmen after a meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee, which he heads.

seminars, the Senator said, was "contrary to the President's program."

A conspicuous example cited in the supporting attachments to the memo was the "pro-blue" program of Lieut. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, who had been relieved of his command of the 24th Division in Europe and admonished by the Secretary of the Army for saying that several prominent political leaders and communists were tainted with Communist ideology. The "pro-blue" program made use of material issued by the John Birch Society.

**G**OLDWATER accused Fulbright of seeking to prevent military officers "from telling their troops and the American people some of the facts they should know." Thurmond said the memo was a "dastardly attempt to intimidate the commanders of the U. S. armed forces."

"If the military teaches the true nature of communism," he said, "it must necessarily teach that communism is fundamentally socialism. When socialism, in turn, is understood, one cannot help but realize that many of the domestic programs advocated in the United States, and many of those adopted, fall clearly within the category of socialism." Thurmond asked for a report by the Senate Services Committee.

2 Fulbright took

the floor and said with elaborate sarcasm: "I must confess that I was unaware that the subject was one which could arouse great controversy. . . . There has been a strong tradition in this country that it is not the function of the military to educate the public on political issues. . . . I have now been apprised of the misapprehensions under which I was laboring."

On Aug. 21 he went to the National War College and met the issue head-on in a lecture on "Public Policy and Military Responsibility:

"It seems to me that it is these [Right-Wing] extremists who are advocating a 'soft' approach. Their oversimplifications and their baseless generalizations reflect the 'softness' of those who cannot bear to face the burden of a continuing struggle against a powerful and resourceful enemy. A truly 'tough' approach . . . is one which accepts the challenge of communism with the courage and determination to meet it with every instrumentality of foreign policy . . . and with willingness to see the struggle through as far into the future as may be necessary."

**O**N Sept. 8, Goldwater made a reply in the Senate:

"The nature of man does not change with the passage of time, or with the alteration of conditions and tactics. It has remained the same down

through the centuries. . . . It would seem that the men of the Minutemen and the men who fought and died in the Alamo and on San Juan Hill have a vital relationship to how we think and act in the crisis that confronts us today. . . . They did not waste time trying to civilize a foe who held a knife to their throats. . . . No; they saw clearly what their interests and America's interests demanded of them and they met the challenge without holding world-wide consultations to make sure if they took action nobody's feelings would be hurt."

**T**HE view here is that the battle has just begun. The next round will be fought in hearings of a Senate armed services subcommittee. The full committee did not grant Thurmond's demand for an investigation, but it did authorize a subcommittee "to study and appraise the use of military personnel" in arousing the public to the menace of the cold war.

In his battle with the radical Right, Fulbright will have powerful reserve strength. President Kennedy values his counsel, even though he may not always follow it; he knows he has in the Arkansas one of the staunchest supporters and advocates of his essential approach to foreign affairs; he admires the way Fulbright has conducted the Foreign Relations Committee, and he is in his debt for the redoubtable battle he waged for the foreign-aid bill.

There is also the esteem in which Fulbright is held by leaders on both sides of the aisle and especially by his committee colleagues. The praise which they expressed at the outset of the debate on the aid bill for his handling of committee hearings—"he was patient, he was fair, he was considerate"—was not perfunctory.

**F**INALLY, there is the solid core of support for Fulbright at home. There was a last paragraph in the memo from his assistant quoted at the outset of this article which suggests that the "radical Right" has its work cut out for it. It read: "The preponderance of opinion from Arkansas voters is weighted heavily in favor of your expressions on a variety of subjects. You are receiving between 400 and 500 pieces of mail daily."

A President does not normally intervene in state primaries, nor do party colleagues in the Senate, but their known views can be an intangible of considerable weight. The Democratic Senatorial primary in Arkansas next spring will be interesting; it may be rough, and it could have national overtones of great moment.

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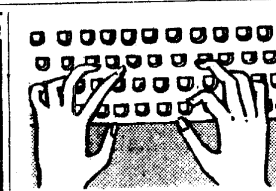
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